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The Nyerere Story

ALAN RAKE*

Julius Nyerere, M.A. Edinburgh, was born in 1921 or 1922. Like most Africans of his generation, no records were kept of the date of his birth, but he was born far to the north of Tanganyika about 26 miles from Lake Tanganyika. His father was a petty chief who had 22 wives and 26 children. Julius was just an ordinary child, son of the fourth wife.

His tribe, the Zanaki, was one of the smallest of Tanganyika's 113 tribes. As a child he was respected among his friends because he was the son of a chief, but his family was poor and he can remember his mother covering her children with rough cloth as they slept together on their bunks and leaving herself unprotected in the cold nights.

At the age of 12, wrapped in an old piece of cloth, he was sent to primary school clutching some money in his hand to buy school clothes from town. He did exceptionally well and within a few years entered Tanganyika's only secondary school at Tabora. It was run on strict English public-school lines.

A New Generation

Later, he had the good fortune to be one of the few Tanganyika Africans to get to Makerere, the University College in Uganda affiliated to London University. He read widely and worked as little as he needed to pass his teacher's diploma. His political consciousness as a student was not directed against colonialism, nor did he entertain the possibility of the Colonial Office ever giving up control of his country. The things that concerned him then were social injustices, Europeans' special privileges, and the African's lack of opportunity for advancement.

It was what he describes now as the "politics of complaint." His father's generation had been ruthlessly conquered by the Germans and had utterly abandoned the struggle; his own generation had been brought up to accept the colonial system. African nationalism simply did not exist.

After Makerere he returned to teach at a mission school. He had become a keen Catholic during his schooldays and turned down the opportunity of a higher salary at a government school in order to teach at the mission. He organized the local

branch of the Tanganyika African Association, a movement which had been founded by African civil servants in 1929.

In 1949 the young schoolmaster was selected as the first Tanganyika student to go to a British University. He was 28 years old when he arrived at Edinburgh in Scotland and mature enough not to be surprised or unduly impressed by what he found abroad.

From Teaching to Politics

He did not take part in any student political activities in London, and even when he first returned home in 1952 he was not thinking in political terms. But he only taught a short while before he made up his mind what he was going to do. "By then the goal was clear," he says: "I had had three years in which to think. I had given up the politics of complaint and was going to tackle the roots of the problem of colonialism."

First it was the old Tanganyika African Association that he tried to bend to his new political thinking. He rewrote its constitution and was not disappointed when someone at the conference suggested the time had come to form a new mass-movement political party.

On July 7, 1954, the Tanganyika African National Union was launched in a wave of enthusiasm that has lasted to the present day. The moment the party was started Nyerere began its full-time organization. Unlike many other African political movements, TANU became as popular in the rural areas as it was in the big towns. It remains one of the best-organized African movements on the continent. In 1957 the party membership was 150,000; by 1959, it was over 500,000 with nearly 1,000 paid party officers, an office in each chiefdom in the country, and 68 district headquarters.

The Rule of Simplicity

Simplicity is the rule of Nyerere's life. Until this year, he lived on his Legislative Council salary of £700 (\$1,960) a year and £25 (\$70) a month from TANU. Only in 1959 did he move into a permanent house after living many years with his wife and five small children in a small municipal block in Dar-es-Salaam. He prefers to walk rather than ride and prefers his faded green TANU bush shirt to expensive clothes. Minister for Mines and Commerce Derek Bryceson, a white settler and self-confessed convert to TANU, said recently: "I believe his fame hasn't touched him yet. I think he is one of the greatest leaders in Africa and maybe the world."

* A longer version of this profile originally appeared in the liberal South African weekly *Contact*, and is adopted for use here with permission. Mr. Rake, who formerly covered East Africa, is now the manager of the West African edition of *Drum*.

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THE COVER:

Julius K. Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika.

—Photo by M. I. Fernandez

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A view of Dar es Salaam

—Tanganyika Government

Outlook For Tanganyika

MARTIN LOWENKOPF*

Although Tanganyika lacks the material wealth of Kenya and Uganda and has a far thinner layer of educated Africans than either of these neighbors, it has moved peacefully ahead of them toward full independence on December 9.

The most obvious reason for Tanganyika's unexpected emergence as a pace-setter is Prime Minister Julius Nyerere, who has molded the disparate races and political forces of his country into a cohesive national political movement that contrasts sharply with the politico-tribal struggles for power elsewhere in East Africa. Nyerere's accomplishment is the greater because he has been able to gain this objective without sacrificing the confidence of Britain, his own credibility as an African nationalist, or the course of non-alignment he has set for Tanganyika in world affairs.

* While doing post-graduate work at the London School of Economics, Mr. Lowenkopf spent a year (1959-60) in East Africa studying political parties in Uganda and Tanganyika.

In building up the Tanganyika African National Union into the powerful monolithic force it has become, Nyerere has enjoyed certain advantages not shared by nationalist leaders in Uganda or Kenya. Perhaps most important, Tanganyika has no white settler "problem" comparable to that of Kenya. Of its 9,000,000 people, more than 98 percent are Africans. Of some 125,000 non-Africans, the great majority are Indians, Pakistanis, and Arabs; only about 20,000 are Europeans, and, of these, perhaps only 3,000 are permanent residents.

Homogeneity an Asset

In addition, Tanganyika enjoys a degree of linguistic and ethnic homogeneity rare in Africa. Because Swahili is the *lingua franca* throughout the country, it has been far easier for TANU organizers to communicate on a meaningful level with all elements of the population. And while there are 127 different tribes within Tanganyika's borders, there is no single grouping comparable, in political or economic strength, to

the separatist-minded Baganda of Uganda.

While a man of Nyerere's stature would have been likely to rise to the top in any environment, his predominance is at least in part due to the fact that he was able to build TANU in his own image before there were many other educated Africans capable of competing in the political arena. In 1954, when TANU was founded, Nyerere was one of two overseas university graduates in Tanganyika. By the time there were others who might have been inclined to start competitive political movements, TANU was clearly established as the only vehicle to power and Nyerere's position in it virtually unassailable.

On Discrimination:

"My friends talk as if it is perfectly all right to discriminate against Europeans, Arabs, and Indians, and only wrong when you discriminate against black men. The crime in the world today is the oppression of man by man."

—Julius Nyerere, in an address defending his government's Citizenship Bill, in the Tanganyika National Assembly on November 20, 1961.

Nyerere has constructed TANU out of both traditional and modernist elements, using his own charisma to blend the two into a working organization. The middle class leaders of the cooperative societies which handle much of the marketing of Tanganyika's cotton and coffee have long been a mainstay of the party's leadership, and George Kahama and Paul Bomani, both Ministers, are their leading representatives in the government. Many returning war veterans, semi-educated townsmen, and others who found themselves outside the traditional political structures of their tribes were drawn to TANU because it seemed to offer a way of reducing the power of the non-representative chiefly administration and securing democratization of native councils. At the same time, Nyerere successfully won the support of a number of traditional chiefs for TANU's goals of self-determination, once it became clear to them that the mass of the people supported the party. Chief Abdullah Fundikira, Minister of Lands and Surveys in the present government, was an early supporter of TANU. The trade union movement, which is in a sense an offspring of TANU, built new bonds between the party and an important element of the population.

In assessing the sources of TANU's strength, special attention must be given also to the party bureaucracy



itself. TANU has become the employer and sacred cause of some 2,000 persons—mostly former teachers, clerks, and small businessmen. Although these officers enjoy little discretion under the TANU constitution and organizational machinery, they are a distinct force in the country, because they are part of the power structure of the state and close to the people as well; more important, they are a force independent of the different elements which go to make up the party. At the moment, Oscar Kambona, Secretary General of TANU and Tanganyika's Minister of Education, appears to be the nominal leader of this TANU bureaucracy.

Economic Problems Loom Largest

The overriding problem facing an independent Tanganyika is economic—or, as Prime Minister Nyerere has phrased it, to conquer "poverty, ignorance, and disease." Most of the country's inhabitants are engaged in subsistence agriculture. Production is hampered by uneconomic land usage, lack of water and variable rainfall, widespread infestation of tsetse fly, and, in consequence, an ill-distributed population. Two-thirds of the people of Tanganyika live on one-tenth of the land, and only seven percent of the total land area is devoted to production of export crops. Largely because of the postwar sisal boom and increased production of coffee and cotton, Tanganyika's exports and its gross national product have increased substantially in the last few years and it presently enjoys a favorable balance of trade amounting to \$53,200,000. However,

Julius Nyerere (center) and TANU Secretary General Oscar Kambona (right) at a political rally.

—M. I. Fernandez



its three export crops are acutely sensitive to fluctuating world prices and the upward trend of recent years has not continued in 1961.

Development Plans Under Way

Meanwhile, Tanganyika has committed itself to a \$67,200,000 development plan for the period 1961-64. This plan, which exceeds the recommendations of a World Bank study group which visited the country in 1960, will place major emphasis on improvements in agriculture, education, communication, and water supply. It is estimated that over three-fourths of the capital for this development will have to come from outside Tanganyika. The United Kingdom is now committed to supply \$22,400,000 and the government hopes that the remaining funds will be obtained from the United States, West Germany, and international agencies. Since Tanganyika has been a Trust Territory, there is reason to anticipate that the United Nations will take particular interest in Tanganyika's development program.

Can TANU Build a Nation?

Although TANU, and especially Prime Minister Nyerere, has repeatedly emphasized that independence will not open a magic door to economic plenty but will only initiate a long period of national construction, new expectations inevitably have developed. The economic development planned for the next three years is not likely to alter significantly the

economic prospects of the mass of Tanganyika's people in the immediate future, and one of TANU's major political challenges will be to retain popular confidence in the face of this reality. Beyond this, it must give Tanganyikan nationalism positive meaning beyond anti-colonialism. In this context, the appropriation of over \$1,000,000 for independence day celebrations is not necessarily an extravagance.

Africanization Slow

The task of Africanizing the civil service is also still far from complete. According to figures released in November, there are 4,889 senior staff positions in the Tanganyikan Government, of which only 700 were filled by Africans and another 200 by non-African Tanganyikans in the month before independence. Some 1,187 of the established senior posts were vacant or filled with temporary staff pending the availability of qualified African candidates. Although several hundred British civil servants retired just prior to independence, more than a thousand others will remain in the employ of the Tanganyikan Government for some time to come.

Political Tensions Exist

Although TANU remains one of the most cohesive political movements in Africa, its bureaucracy is not a collection of "yes" men and open opposition to Nyerere's policies exists among some elements of the popula-

On One-Party Governments

"Democracy has been described as a 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' Surely, if a government is freely elected by the people, there can be nothing undemocratic about it just because nearly all the people, rather than only some of them, happen to have voted it into power. Indeed, it appears natural that young nations which emerge as a result of a nationalist movement having united their people will be governed at first by a nationalist government as distinct from a party government. No one should therefore jump to the conclusion that such a country is not democratic or does not intend to be democratic."

—Nyerere in an address at Wellesley College in February 1960.

tion. These differences of viewpoint are likely to grow rather than diminish once the all-encompassing goal of independence is achieved, and as the educated elite develops in size and the range of its aspirations. There is already a "ginger group" in the National Assembly which takes issue with many of Nyerere's policy deci-

A sisal plant at Amboni estate



—UN Photo

On Individual Liberty in Africa

"In the world today there is a conflict between the advocates of the freedom of the individual and those who champion the primacy of the state. When one examines the differences between the ideologies of the Eastern and Western powers, one can reduce them generally to this very conflict. The West seems to have exaggerated the idea of freedom beyond the point where freedom becomes license; to have accepted a society in which—provided a man does not too obviously steal or murder—he can defend any form of self-indulgence by calling it the freedom of the individual. The Communist world, largely I think as a reaction against this exaggeration, has swung like a pendulum to the other extreme: the individual in a Communist society is secondary to something called the state . . .

"In primitive African society, this question of the limits of responsibility, as between the individual and the society in which he lives, was not very clearly defined. The traditional African community was a small one, and the African could not think of himself apart from his community. He was an individual; he had his wife—or wives—and children, so he belonged to a family, but the family merged into a larger 'blood' family which, itself, merged again into the tribe. Thus he saw himself, all the time, as a member of a community—for his community was, to him, an extension of his family. He might have seen a conflict between himself and another individual member of the same community, but, with the community itself, never. One must not think that the African is therefore a 'natural Communist.' He is not. To him, the wage is his wage; the property is his property; but, his brother's need is his need—and he cannot ignore that need. He has not yet learned to ask: 'am I my brother's keeper?' The African is not 'communitistic' in his thinking; he is, if I may coin the expression, 'communitary.' He is not a member of a 'commune'—some artificial unit of human beings—but of a genuine community, or brotherhood."

—From an article, "Will Democracy Work in Africa" by Julius Nyerere in Africa Report, February 1960.

sions, and there is obvious dissatisfaction among some TANU backbenchers who have been moved from the "inner circle" to less significant positions to make way for younger but better-educated appointees to executive office. Some TANU regional officials, discontented by the size of their representation in the Assembly, tend to identify with this group.

Ideological Differences Exit

While these elements cannot be entirely ignored, they do not amount to the same kind of threat to TANU's unity posed by the more radical elements of the trade union movement. A maverick group, led by C. S. K. Tumbo, General Secretary of the Rail African Union, and including the Post and Telecommunications Workers, the Union of Public Employees, and the Local Government Workers Union, has already broken away from the Tanganyika Federation of Labor. While the immediate cause of this split was a difference of opinion over the leadership of the federation, a more significant ideological struggle clearly exists below the surface. The Tumbo group appears to support the Ghana-led movement for the creation of an autonomous All-African Trade Union Federation unaffiliated with large inter-

national labor groupings. The Tanganyika Federation of Labor unions are affiliated with the pro-Western ICFTU. TANU has given the differences between these two labor groups enhanced significance by declaring that it recognizes only TFL unions.

The only organized opposition to TANU, the African National Congress, is led by Zuberi Mtemvu, a former TANU official who left the party in 1958 when he failed to be promoted to Secretary General. Mtemvu objects to the multi-racialist philosophy of TANU, would eliminate all white faces from the government, and has taken an increasingly anti-Western position since visiting several countries in the Soviet Bloc. Although the ANC did not return a single candidate in the 1960 elections, its racist line is not without supporters in the country—and in TANU itself.

The Question of Citizenship

This was demonstrated recently when Prime Minister Nyerere found it necessary to stake the government's life on a Citizenship Bill which will allow persons born outside Tanganyika but who have lived in the country for five or more years to become citizens two years from

date of application. Although the legislation eventually passed, the debate in the National Assembly revealed that there is considerable opposition within the governing party to Nyerere's commitment to a non-racial Tanganyika. It may be increasingly difficult to contain the sensitivity which exists in many quarters toward the relative wealth of the immigrant community—particularly the 100,000 Asians.

It is as impossible to analyze Tanganyika's political and economic prospects apart from Nyerere's position in the country as it is to discuss India without reference to Nehru. The very real tensions which exist in Tanganyika can be kept in check as long as Nyerere remains the adored leader of the masses, the patron and constitutional leader of the most important elements in the country, and the kind of responsible and imaginative leader who attracts concrete assistance from abroad to help him meet his people's rising expectations. His significance goes far beyond the borders of Tanganyika, moreover, because he is the close confidant of African nationalist leaders throughout English-speaking East and Central Africa, and a chief architect of the projected East African Federation.

Tanganyika clearly represents a new and powerful voice among the 29 independent nations of Africa.

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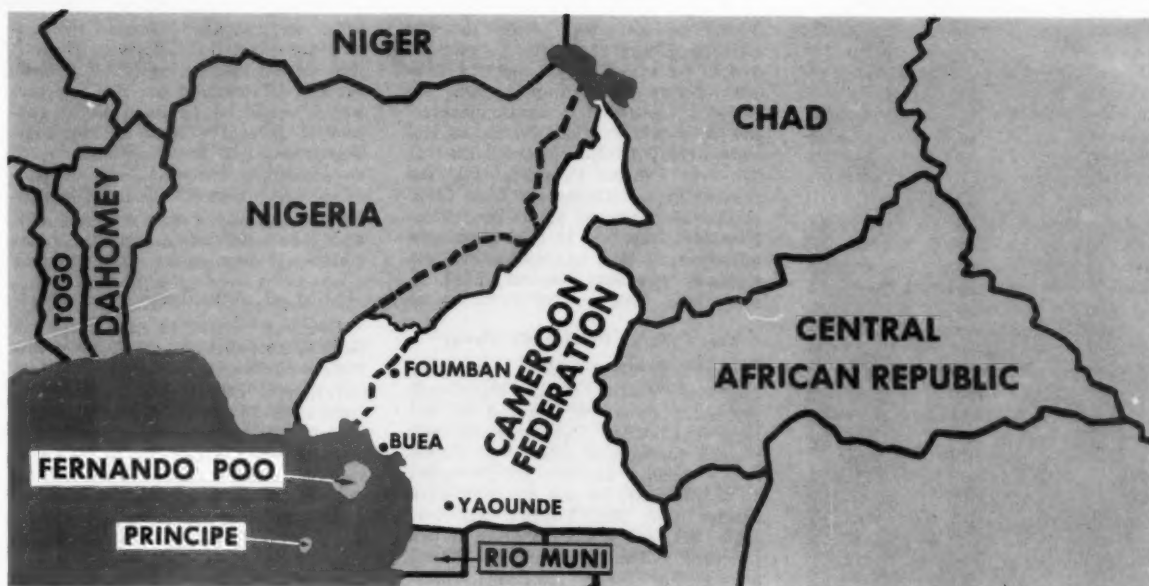
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The New Cameroon Federation

VICTOR T. Le VINE*

If recent African experiments in federation are any indication, the prospects for the new Cameroon Federal Republic are none too encouraging. The shambles of the Mali Federation, the still-nebulous nature of Ghana, Guinea, and Mali's Union of African States, and the doubtful longevity of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland are not encouraging. It is, of course, much too early to attempt to evaluate the new Cameroon federation's chances for survival, but it is appropriate to examine the circumstances under which the union was consummated, the form of the new federation's institutions, and the economic and political factors that will shape its future.

Pressures for Union

Unification has long been an integral part of nationalist programs in both the French and English-speaking Cameroons. In the former, it became a popular political theme, eventually espoused by almost all political parties, after the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (the most radical of the Cameroun's parties, outlawed between 1955 and 1960) had made it a successful nationalist rallying cry. The UPC created a myth which saw the old German Kamerun Protectorate as the flowering of a "Kamerun Nation," and used it as the basis of demands for the "re-unifica-

tion" of "a Kamerun people, arbitrarily sundered by imperialist intrigues." The Kamerun myth, then, became a useful weapon in the armory of nationalists in both French and British Cameroons. In the latter area, unification gained converts with the extension of the UPC's activities to the Southern Cameroons, and with the rise of John Foncha's Kamerun (note the German spelling) National Democratic Party, which made unification one of its principal programmatic goals.

Cameroons Plebiscite Set

In January 1959, the KNDP, campaigning upon a broadly unificationist platform, won the general elections, and Foncha became Premier of the Southern Cameroons. It was not long until Foncha and Prime Minister Ahidjo of the French Cameroons, similarly committed to unification, began exchanging visits and sharing views on the feasibility of a political union to take place after both French and British trusteeships had been terminated in their respective territories. On January 1, 1960, the French Cameroons became the Cameroun Republic—an event which also marked the end of the French trusteeship and set the stage for the United Nations' Assembly's decision to hold separate but simultaneous plebiscites in the southern and northern parts of the British Cameroons in February 1961. Voters would be asked to choose between union with the Cameroun Republic or Nigeria.

During 1960, Ahidjo (now President of the Cameroun Republic) and

Foncha continued to meet and the vague outlines of a proposed federation began to take shape. Toward the end of the year, however, it became apparent that the Ahidjo government's enthusiasm for unification had begun to wane as its understanding of the complex of economic, social, political, and financial problems involved in unification increased. Moreover, it had begun to face a renewal of terrorist activity on the Cameroons border as well as basic disagreement with Foncha about the nature of future constitutional arrangements. By the end of January 1961, Cameroun officialdom had begun to voice—in private—doubts about the feasibility of the union, and it was commonly rumored that Ahidjo himself felt that union with the Southern Cameroons was less attractive than union with the Northern Cameroons. Similar unease was also becoming manifest in the Southern Cameroons, but for different reasons.

Results Disputed

The votes cast in the bifurcated plebiscite split the British Cameroons, with the Southern Cameroons opting for union with the Cameroun Republic, and the Northern Cameroons choosing to join Nigeria by attaching itself to the Northern Region of Nigeria. Official rejoicing in Cameroun was muted by the government's anger at the results in the Northern Cameroons. For more than two months following the plebiscite, the Ahidjo government sought vainly to protest what it claimed were obvious irregularities committed by Britain in the

* Mr. Le Vine, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Washington University, St. Louis, returned recently from a year in Cameroun on a Ford Foundation Fellowship.

conduct of the plebiscite in the north, and tolerated, if not abetted, by the United Nations. Not until the General Assembly of the United Nations rejected the Camerounian protest and confirmed the results of the two plebiscites (April 21) could hope be entertained for fruitful Cameroun-Camerouns talks.

Foncha and Ahidjo met six times, sometimes with British representatives present, more often without them, and it was not until their conference at Foumban, Cameroun late in July that they were finally able to reconcile their differences and agree on the general lines of the new federation. These differences centered about Foncha's desire to preserve as much autonomy for the Southern Cameroons as possible and Ahidjo's understandable inclination toward a strong federal power in which the weight of the larger and stronger Cameroun could be most effectively felt.

Accord Reached at Foumban

The widespread lack of optimism about the possibility of reaching agreement before the end of the British Trusteeship was reflected in expressions of amazement (both official and unofficial) that the Foumban conference went so well and resulted in complete accord. Two factors undoubtedly pushed the negotiators toward a settlement: (1) October 1 was two months away; and (2) Britain had threatened to turn sovereignty unconditionally over to the Cameroun Republic on that date if no institutions had been created by then to receive it. Lack of agreement before October 1 would compound the Ahidjo government's defeat on its protests to the United Nations; to Foncha it represented the threat of a shotgun marriage without prior guarantees of local autonomy. In any case, both sides were immensely pleased at the results obtained at Foumban, and a formal document was soon drafted and approved by the legislatures of what would (after October 1) become East Cameroun and West Cameroun.

New Institutions Created

Even the most cursory reading of the Constitution of the Cameroun Federal Republic reveals the extent to which it embodies its drafters' reservations to the new union. Broadly seen, the document appears to have three main objectives: (1) to create workable institutions for the Cameroun federation, (2) to preserve virtually intact the local autonomy hitherto enjoyed by the two states, and (3) to maintain as long as possible—through a number of obvious political compromises written into it—the political status quo in both Cameroons.

The document creates a federal union headed by a President and a

Vice-President, who may not be citizens of the same state, and who are to be popularly elected for five-year terms. According to the so-called "transitional arrangements," the incumbent President of East Cameroun (Mr. Ahidjo) is designated as the first Federal President, and the current Prime Minister of West Cameroun (Mr. Foncha) as the first Vice-President, the two to hold their new offices until Mr. Ahidjo's term as Eastern President expires, that is, until May 1965.

The Federal President's Power

The Federal President designates the Prime Minister of each state, each of whom must be invested by his local legislature. This provision will become operational after West Cameroun's general election on December 30 of this year; no one, however, anticipates that Mr. Foncha will lose either his seat or his majority at this juncture. The Federal President, among his other functions, must "promulgate" all federal and state laws, is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, may submit doubtful legislation to the Federal High Court for advice on questions of constitutionality, may dissolve the Federal Assembly, may invoke emergency powers in situations of "grave peril" to the nation, and may resubmit legislation to the Federal Assembly for another vote (see below). The list of the federal executive's powers is rather imposing, but it should be noted that, as far as Mr. Foncha is concerned, Mr. Ahidjo will only assume—loosely speaking—the reserved powers previously exercised by Britain as Administering Authority. Substantively, Mr. Foncha lost nothing in the transfer.

Federal legislative powers are to be exercised by a unicameral Federal National Assembly, whose members are to be popularly elected on the basis of one deputy for each 80,000 inhabitants to serve for five years. According to official population statistics (also incorporated into the document), its present membership will probably stand at 50. Here again, however, the "transitional arrangements" operate to prevent immediate implementation of these provisions. In a move apparently designed to forestall federal elections as long as possible, the drafters provided that until April 1, 1964, the members of the Federal Assembly will be selected from the memberships of the two state legislatures.

How Powerful Is the Assembly?

What is the scope of the new Assembly's powers? Superficially, it appears quite broad. Two lists are provided, one enumerating federal jurisdictions in which the Assembly may legislate "immediately," and the other, competences which may become subject to federal legislation

after an undefined "transition period." The first list includes such matters as nationality, national defense, foreign affairs, and the like, matters which would be expected to be subject to federal control in any case. The second list, including such things as secondary education, the "regime of public liberties," judicial organization and administration, land law, and labor regulation, touches areas which are now under state control.

Period of Adjustment Guaranteed

However extensive the scope of federal jurisdiction, there is nevertheless little chance that the federal government could push through any legislation to which either state objected. The operation of a novel form of concurrent majority severely curtails the Assembly's powers. Under the provisions of Article 18, any federal law, passed by the usual majority vote in the Federal Assembly, may, before its promulgation and upon the demand of the Federal President or either of the State Prime Ministers, be subjected to a "second reading" by the Assembly. The Assembly may not refuse the request, and this time must pass the law in question by a majority of *both* State's deputies. Using this device, then, either state could effectively block any legislation it disliked. If anything, Article 18 guarantees Mr. Foncha the extended period of adjustment he has always felt his country needed before the union became a working reality.

The constitution creates only one Federal court, a Federal Court of Justice, which is to function as the federation's highest appellate court (but only in matters involving federal law), adjudicate interstate disputes, and give advisory opinions on the constitutionality of pending federal legislation when asked to do so by either the federal President or the President of the Federal Assembly. In such an instance, the Court is augmented by a special panel selected yearly by the federal President.

States' Relationships Undefined

In summary, then, the constitution creates a federation with institutions that appear substantial, but in reality have a curiously *ad hoc* character. Perhaps hasty draftsmanship is responsible for this, but one suspects that the document was primarily designed to erect an institutional facade behind which the two states of the federation could work out mutual accommodations without being forced into excessive intimacy. It is significant that the document does not define either interstate or state-federal relationships; the closest it gets to doing so is two cryptic references to a Federal Coordinating Commission which must be consulted when either state plans to take measures

(Continued on page 10)

Uganda's First Chief Minister

Benedicto Kiwanuka, who became the first African Chief Minister of Uganda in 1961, says there have been three major turning points in his life.

In 1930, young Benedicto was 12 years old and had never been to school. In that year he bought himself a school uniform with some sports prize money—and thereby persuaded his father of his determination to get an education. Once enrolled, he promptly moved to the head of his class, and stayed there through elementary and secondary school, winning one merit scholarship after another.

A second turning point came in 1942 at the age of 22, when he joined the British Army, and eventually was posted to the Middle East as an interpreter. The poverty and barrenness of the Middle East were a shock to a young man who had known only the lush-green hillsides of Buganda. During his years in Egypt and Palestine, young Kiwanuka "saw many things which got me thinking about politics" and "was able to read many books I would never have seen otherwise." Before he was returned to Uganda in 1946, he had already begun writing his first political tract, a book called *The Unity of Uganda*.

Politics Temporarily Set Aside

In retrospect, Kiwanuka laughs at his naive assumption that a young de-mobbed soldier could solve the complex internal problems of Uganda which still defy experts in 1961. Kiwanuka's innate realism soon took over, and he put politics aside temporarily to direct his efforts toward becoming the first African lawyer in Uganda. For the next four years, he worked with characteristic single-mindedness as interpreter for the High Court. On a private scholarship, he then entered Pius XII University College in Basutoland in 1950 at the age of 30, and in 1952 went to London to enter law school. This time, Mrs. Kiwanuka accompanied him.

The first years in London were lean ones. Although limited private scholarship aid paid his school costs, the couple had so little margin to live on that the daily purchase of the *London Times*—required in connection with his studies—was a major expense item. Eventually, the Buganda Government provided additional scholarship aid, however, and during the last years of law school there was time to become secretary of the Uganda Students' Association. For a while, he worked part-time in a canning factory. When the Kabaka returned to Uganda from exile in 1955, Kiwanuka was one of those in England chosen to accompany him.

By 1956, Kiwanuka was practicing

law in Kampala. His hours were long—from five a.m. in the morning until late at night—but law proved to be both a fascinating and lucrative career. Although he was elected president-general of the Democratic Party, founded by Roman Catholics in 1956, he still regarded politics as an avocation.

Party Demands Grow

In 1959, however, Kiwanuka came to another major turning point. Uganda's political evolution had reached a stage where the head of a political party could no longer do full justice to both the party and a profession if he wanted the party to succeed. He decided to set aside his successful law practice to devote full-time attention to the Democratic Party—and to the attainment of Uganda's independence. In elections held in March 1961 under new constitutional reforms, the Democratic Party won 43 of 82 seats, and Benedicto Kiwanuka subsequently became the country's first Chief Minister at the age of 41. His main task, as it turns out, is to help the British administration prepare the country for independence on October 9, 1962—the date set by a roundtable constitutional conference held in London in September of this year.

Most observers of the Uganda political scene doubt that Kiwanuka's Democratic Party will maintain control of the government when new pre-independence elections are held in 1962. Although the DP won a majority of seats in the last elections, the majority of the popular vote went to the Uganda People's Congress led by Milton Obote. This confusing outcome resulted from the boycott of the election called by the traditional authorities in the Kingdom of Buganda, who have strongly opposed the development of a unitary state in Uganda. Only about four percent of the Buganda voters ventured out to the polls in defiance of the boycott, and they gave all 21 Buganda seats to the Democratic Party. As things now stand, however, the situation will not be the same in 1962.

The Kabaka's representatives at the September constitutional conference agreed to drop the boycott of the central government of Uganda, though the crucial issue of whether Buganda deputies to the national legislature will be elected directly, or indirectly through the Lukiko (Buganda Parliament) was left in abeyance. This is a matter of some importance to the Democratic Party: having defied the Lukiko's boycott by campaigning in Buganda this year, the DP is anathema to the provincial lawmakers and has little likelihood of gaining representation indirectly



Benedicto Kiwanuka —Maurice Sorrell

through the legislature. For obvious reasons, then, the Chief Minister is a strong advocate of direct elections for Buganda.

Kiwanuka refuses to be pessimistic about his chances in 1962: "Some people think we can't do it. But then, there were some people who said we could never get candidates or votes in Buganda in 1961, and we did. And then they said that, with no experience, we couldn't run the government. But we have. And we have succeeded in getting independence by standing for elections in Buganda and forcing the Kabaka's government to go to London to negotiate. So . . ." He spreads his hands in a gesture which seems to indicate that he believes achieving the impossible is primarily a matter of hard work. It is the logical viewpoint of a man who has worked diligently all his life against discouraging odds in a slow, steady climb to the top.

From Private to Public

In private conversation, Kiwanuka is gracious in manner, calm, and affable. He speaks in fluent English, though he did not begin to study the language until he was 16. On the political platform, however, he warms eloquently to his subject, gesticulates in the grand manner, and establishes rapport with an African audience on an emotional level.

Although he is a devout Catholic, Kiwanuka has striven to dispel the prevalent view that the Democratic Party is primarily a Catholic organization. He has named Protestants, non-Baganda, and Indians to his Ministries to give the governing party a

(Continued on next page)

The New Cameroon Federation

(Continued from page 8)

"affecting the life of the federation," and before State authorities act temporarily in what are normally federal jurisdictions.

The Context of Change

Even though October 1 came and went peacefully, and though there was no "invasion" of the Western Cameroon by terrorist bands (a possibility fearfully envisaged by many in the territory including Mr. Foncha himself), the security of the intercameroonian border area continues to be a compelling preoccupation of the new federation. For a period of about six months preceding unification, terrorist groups operating mainly in the Bamileke, Mungo, and Wouri *departements* killed, burned, and pillaged with increasing frequency and effectiveness. A group of terrorists obviously well led and supplied with arms (some of Czech make, apparently brought in from Guinea, where the embittered remnants of the revolutionary wing of the UPC now reside) even ventured in mid-August into the Southern Cameroons to raid a camp maintained by the Cameroons Development Corporation, killing 12 laborers. The incident frightened many Cameroonians and heightened

apprehension that disorder might follow the withdrawal of British troops stationed at the border. The British have since been replaced by a brigade from Eastern Cameroun. The terrorists—led by extremists owing allegiance to the Conakry-based rump of the UPC and often reinforced by locals trained in guerilla tactics in Peiping—exploit deep-seated ethnic, social, and economic tensions of the border area. Until these problems are finally attacked with vigor—five years of military operations have not succeeded in pacifying the area—neither part of Cameroon will be able to enjoy the fruits of the union.

Economic Problems Complex

The economic problems posed by unification are also grave, particularly as far as the Western Cameroon is concerned. Prior to unification, Britain absorbed 60 percent of the Southern Cameroun's exports, which consisted primarily of bananas, cocoa, rubber, and lumber. Britain has offered to continue Commonwealth preferences on these products until December 1962. The question is what will happen thereafter. France, the principal market for East Cameroun's exports (in which cocoa, bananas, rubber, and timber figure prominently), can ill afford to extend its preferences to take in even more of the very commodities which already glut French markets.

Decline in Main Crop

It has been suggested that an enlarged Common Market could absorb the loss, or that Germany might return as the West Cameroun's biggest customer. These possibilities, however, will not solve the basic problem of providing adequate revenues to an area whose main cash crop (bananas) has been declining in size every year. Somehow, means must be found to finance the continued economic development of the western state. It has been estimated that about £1,000,000 per annum would be needed for the area's steady growth over the next 10 years. There is, however, little indication of the source of such funds after present British aid ceases. East Cameroun, still largely dependent on foreign sources for development capital (mainly France), has shown little enthusiasm at the prospect of allocating its own critically-needed funds to its new partner.

The peripheral economic problems appear to have been settled. The western state will enter the franc zone, and its currency and measurement systems will gradually merge with those of its eastern partner. Customs barriers have been abolished, and the differences in the cost of living between the two states may stimu-

late the growth of trade and general economic activity. Moreover, the elimination of the border cannot but have a salutary effect on agriculture in the western area, since good roads and a railroad in the eastern state will undoubtedly encourage many areas in West Cameroon to use markets and ports hitherto inaccessible to them.

Will Federation Be a Reality?

The basic economic difficulties of West Cameroon still remain to be overcome, however, and there is some question if the political compromises reached at Foumban may not have hampered the solution of crucial economic problems.

Following the Foumban talks in July, Prime Minister Foncha referred to "the existence of two Kamerun cultures." He expressed a hope that the new institutions of the federation might let the "states . . . continue largely as they are now," and by the process of evolution, that the two cultures might be replaced by an "indigenous one." Baldly stated, Foncha admitted that political, economic, and social patterns shaped during the course of 40 years of separate development could not be expected to blend overnight. Foncha bargained for, and got, far-reaching guarantees of separate development. The danger now is not that Foncha and Ahidjo will fail to support their new partnership, but that they will permit separate development to lead their respective states further apart, rather than closer together. By delaying the creation of central federal institutions with genuine powers, and by avoiding political action which could bind them both, they may be doing just that.

Uganda's Chief Minister

(Continued from preceeding page)

non-tribal, interracial, non-sectarian complexion. Because he was born a Muganda, he is fully aware of the mystical loyalties evoked among the people of Buganda by the institution of the Kabaka. He believes that he has outgrown tribalism, but he nonetheless admits having been somewhat hurt and surprised when the Kabaka refused to see him when he became Chief Minister. Of this rebuff, Kiwanuka says, "As the representative of all Uganda, I proposed to go to the Kabaka—not for him to come to me. But the Kabaka resented the fact that anyone would even initiate the suggestion of a talk with him."

Mr. Kiwanuka has no special plans for Uganda's future after independence. His approach tends to be parochial and pragmatic rather than ideological. The leaders of the Democratic Party, he observes, "can always say we accomplished our mission: we got independence." As for his own future, his law practice awaits him if he does not become Uganda's Prime Minister next year—and law is a much more rewarding career financially than politics. As the father of eight children between the ages of 14 and a few months, this is not a minor consideration.

—Frances Richardson

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After the Queen's Tour—What?

(from the London Times)

Accra

After the Queen's tour of Ghana, what? There can be no mistaking the blaze of personal success attendant on it, in spite of the ominous signs that threatened its beginning. The question remains: has the mutual salute of Britain and Ghana been a political hail or farewell?

The opinion of pessimistic Britons is that Ghana will leave the Commonwealth within a few months, and those in disagreement have to admit that the situation rests on a pinpoint balance.

If one of Dr. Nkrumah's aims in insisting on going through with the tour in the face of opposition from the left-wing faction in his own Convention People's Party was to prove to them the popular support for ties with Britain, he has won and gained ample ammunition for the internal struggle to stay in the Commonwealth. Nor can his personal feelings have been left unchanged by the visit. His regard for the Queen can only have been enhanced by her courage and cheerfulness in what could have developed into a dangerous situation.

A Break in the Pressures

For the first time in weeks he has been seen again against a backcloth of jubilation and celebration, associated not with harsh budgets and the rising cost of living but with festivities and a national holiday. He has also shown his old confidence in resisting pressures to cancel the visit and in going about in public once more after the warning, just after his return from an eastern tour, that there was a plot to shoot him on the dias if he attended his birthday parade. For this resumption of independence he owes something to the opportunities afforded by the tour.

No doubt suggestions will be made that the success of the tour was due entirely to the happiness and hospitality of the Ghanaian temperament. But comparison of the Queen's visit with other frequent visits from heads of state in the past year or so shows that the only one to receive a genuine welcome was Marshal Tito and the ovation given the Queen was several times greater.

What the tour has also done is to highlight some of the difficulties facing Dr. Nkrumah. The greatest problem, and by far the most worrying, has been the difficulty of combining more than a dozen tribes with their own customs and languages into one whole. The power of the chiefs, as seen at the Kumasi durbar, creates anxiety in case a region should break away, as Ashanti might under a powerful and ambitious Asantahene. The little-awakened national consciousness in the more backward north, shown

when they played their own instruments throughout both the British and Ghana national anthems, must also be disquieting.

One cannot live for a week in Ghana without realizing that the desperate desire at the top for a distinct identity is likely to cut both ways against world blocs. Dr. Nkrumah, used to juggling with elements in his own country, is shrewd enough to play both eastern and western sponsors off against each other, particularly over foreign investment, his second great problem. In spite of his pride in the Volta river project, it must have seemed bitter to him when showing the Queen the site of the dam that he had to wait on the Americans for fulfilment of the plans.

Not only must Ghana have a unique personality and independence, she must be respected. Hence the murals in the Convention People's Party headquarters showing how the ancient Ghanaians taught the Greeks mathematics, invented shorthand, and originated benefits ranging from chemistry and medicine to architecture.

The impressive military and police parade on the day after the Queen's arrival—a colonialist relic if ever there was one—was intended to show that Ghana could do still better independent than before. At the same time, the Ghanaians are demonstrating with anti-imperialist propaganda Ghana's freedom from her old ties and her readiness to choose her own place in the world of her own free will.

Ghana's Place in the World

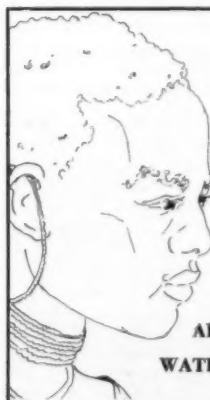
Eventually that place, with Ghana's temperament, will not be following either of the two major world groups blindly, but more probably leading her own contingent; hence the government's insistence on the unpopular loans to Guinea and Mali, which give her the feeling of acting as a big sister to less fortunate states.

Ghana needs friends and an understanding of drastic measures. Ghanaians feel they have been exposed to bitter humiliation by criticisms in the British press, and while the wave of arrests has certainly been a shock to the British, they are more lightly accepted here where iron measures are traditional and where many believe that the United Party would behave in much the same way if it got into power.

Russia has the advantage over Britain here of understanding from much more recent experience what life is like and what measures are needed in a country where the forced pace makes strict control the alternative to anarchy or ineffectualness. Britain, however, has her own advantage: a much greater hold on the

people's affection. Ghana's mercurial response to good will was shown by the change in the attitude of the government-controlled papers, which suggested that the Queen's welcome on her arrival pointed to Osagyefo's popularity, but gradually, as the confidence of Dr. Nkrumah and his party were restored by public acclaim, generously afforded the Queen the designation of the greatest socialist monarch.

Now the scales seem less weighted against Ghana's staying in the Commonwealth, but their final position may not be seen for some months. Even if Ghana is too proud to answer dutifully when challenged "*Quo vadis?*" the fears that she will turn red seem to be exaggerated. They ignore the temperament in the country where, in spite of the communal element in tribalism, each man is himself and each woman has considerable influence. It is not existing world power but the future of Pan-Africa that matters to Ghana, who knows that she has qualities of leadership and hates to waste a talent. (© The Times Publishing Company Ltd., 1961. All Rights Reserved. Reprinted by permission from *The Times* of 21 November, 1961.)



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ECONOMIC NOTES

Mauritanian Legislation Favors Foreign Investors

Basic legislation covering long-term investment in the petroleum and mining industries has been promulgated by the Mauritanian Government.

The new investment codes, intended to foster petroleum and mineral exploration in the country, grant substantial fiscal benefits to those companies receiving oil or mineral concessions from the government. These benefits generally are in the form of exemptions, rebates, or reductions in duties and taxes on materials and equipment used in exploration or exploitation operations and in the form of depreciation and depletion allowances.

Firms contracting to provide transportation or maintenance services to oil or mineral concessionaires also may be eligible for benefits provided in the mineral code, but under specified conditions. Incorporation in Mauritania is required. Under the petroleum code, companies exploiting hydrocarbons also must be incorporated in Mauritania to receive the fiscal benefits, but may be chartered in any country if solely engaged in exploration.

Bauxites Du Midi Instructed To Suspend Guinea Projects

Aluminium Ltd.'s subsidiary, *Bauxites du Midi*, was officially informed by the Government of Guinea on October 24 that it must discontinue all operations in the country by November 23. However, the presidential decree setting out this decision also states that the company's assets and position will be fully reinstated if its officials are able, by February 24, 1962, to solve the financial difficulties which forced the company to suspend work on the preliminary development work at Boke in August. The decree applies not only to the exploitation of the bauxite at Boke and the projected construction of an alumina plant, but also to the bauxite mining operations at Kassa, in the Loos Islands off Conakry. Under *Bauxites du Midi*, these latter mines have been producing 400,000 to 450,000 tons of bauxite annually since 1952.

Bauxites du Midi has already invested some \$20,000,000 at Boke, but it is estimated that full development of the project would take nearly another three years and a further \$130,000,000 to \$140,000,000. When the company encountered difficulties in raising the additional capital required to build the plant, it presented certain alternative proposals to the Guinea Government in October. In

explanation of its rejection of these alternative proposals, the Guinea Government stated that "the position of the government and the *Parti Democratique de Guinee* has often been most clearly stated: namely, that industrialization means the transformation of primary products within the country and not the perpetuation of 'colonial method' based on the extraction of minerals for shipment and processing abroad." According to the long-term convention signed in May 1958, *Bauxites du Midi* was to complete the Boke project by July 1964.

New Ethiopian Paper Currency Was Printed in Britain

New paper currency has gone into circulation in Ethiopia in denominations of one, five, 10, 20, 50, 100, and 500 Ethiopian dollars. The Emperor's head appears on the front, and the symbolic Lion of Judah on the back of each note. The currency was printed in Britain.

Soviet Union Agrees to Finance New Ethiopian Oil Refinery

The Ethiopian Ministry of Commerce and Industry announced on November 14 that final agreement had been reached with the Soviet Union on the construction of an oil refinery at the port of Assab along the Eritrean coast of the Red Sea.

The actual contract for the E\$38,000,000 refinery, which will have the capacity to produce 500,000 tons of oil per year, is to be signed in the "near future." The project is to be financed out of a \$100,000,000 credit which the USSR extended to Ethiopia in July 1959. (See *Africa Report*, July, 1959, page 6)

Experimental Cocoa Farm Warmly Endorsed by Dr. Banda

The first chocolate to be made from cocoa beans grown in Nyasaland was sampled last month by Dr. Hastings Banda in his capacity as Minister of Natural Resources and Local Government. The beans were grown at the Agricultural Department's experimental farm at Makanga in the Southern Province. According to a government spokesman, it is the only cocoa in the world to be grown under irrigation.

Expressing the hope that cocoa may one day become one of Nyasaland's most valuable exports, Dr. Banda said, "I would be willing to go out of my way to beg money from Britain, America, or West Germany" to get a major development scheme underway. Nyasaland is under strong pressure to strengthen its agricultural economy because of Dr. Banda's de-

termination to withdraw the country from its present federal association with Northern and Southern Rhodesia before independence. Major crops at present are cotton, tea, tobacco, peanuts, rice, beans, and maize.

President Nkrumah Announces Planning and Control Bodies

Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah announced on October 2 the establishment of a State Planning Commission and a State Control Commission, both under his personal direction. The Planning Commission, to be made up of experts in the fields of industry, science, agriculture, health, education, and other relevant fields, will formulate a new comprehensive economic plan and lay down a system of priorities for present development projects. The Control Commission, which will be chaired by President Nkrumah and will include major Cabinet Ministers, will review the economic position of the state, adjust expenditure and taxation, and supervise the administration of public boards and corporations.

Explaining the rationale for the new policy making bodies, Dr. Nkrumah said: "The experience of the last four years since independence has shown that the machinery of government, inherited from the colonial era, has proved inadequate to serve the needs of an independent country with a rapidly expanding economy, dedicated to the ideals of socialist planning and construction."

Yugoslav Experts to Draft Ethiopian Five Year Plan?

Yugoslav planning experts have been invited to draw up Ethiopia's second Five Year Plan, according to a *New York Times* report from Addis Ababa. The 1957-62 Plan also was drafted by Yugoslavs. The new plan will emphasize agricultural and industrial development in both private and governmental sectors.

Mali Government Approves \$252,000,000 Development Plan

Mali's first major economic development plan was approved by the country's National Assembly in October. The goal of the \$252,000,000 Four Year Plan, as set down in the enabling legislation, is "to develop agricultural and livestock production in a socialist framework; to lay the foundations of a planned and diversified economy by pressing ahead with the systematic search for mineral wealth, research into hydroelectric possibilities and industrialization; and to build an infrastructure for development." Implementation of the

ECONOMIC NOTES

Plan will depend upon heavy injections of outside financial assistance.

Specific efforts will be directed toward increasing agricultural production by 65 percent and building and public works by 270 percent by 1966. Under the Plan's projections, production for export will go up from the present \$106,000,000 to \$171,000,000 in the next four years. Industrial projects envisaged include two new dams (one already under construction); peanut oil factories with a capacity of 20,000 tons; a sugar factory of 20,000 tons capacity; cotton gins; cold storage slaughter houses with ancillary tanneries and a shoe factory; a textile combine (spinning, weaving, and dyeing); and flour mills of 15,000 tons capacity. An industrial combine will be formed to produce light machinery, metal furniture, and small agricultural implements.

The present state monopoly in the fields of transportation, banking, and external trade will be extended to the production of energy, mining, and the exploitation of oil resources. The Plan calls for a partnership between the private and public sectors of the economy in processing industries. The protection of private industry guaranteed under the Plan is conditional, however, upon conformance with the objective of the Plan and, in particular, the program of production envisaged by the government.

First Swaziland Railway Will Take Iron Ore to Sea

The Commonwealth Relations Office in London has announced that work will begin "as soon as possible" on Swaziland's first railroad, with the hope of completing it by 1964. The railroad will run for 140 miles from the high-grade iron ore deposits at Bomvu Ridge in the western part of the territory to the Mozambique frontier. Meanwhile, the Portuguese Government has announced agreement to extend the existing line from Goba to the frontier, thus assuring Swaziland a direct link with the port of Lourenco Marques. The cost of the project—about \$22,000,000—will be met largely by the Colonial Development Corporation and by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.

Technical Aid Agreement Signed By USSR and Sudan

Under an agreement signed in Khartoum on November 21 the Soviet Union will assist Sudan in building grain elevators; milk processing and fish and fruit preserving factories; a plant for drying onions; asbestos and cement towers; scientific research, veterinary and agricultural laboratories; and a cotton experimental station.

Iron and Steel Industry Is Proposed for Nigeria

The prospects of establishing an iron and steel industry in Nigeria based on indigenous resources have been considerably advanced as a result of a British discovery for making coke from Nigerian brown coal.

Foreign steel interests, enthusiastically supported by the Nigerian Government, have for some time been exploring the feasibility of setting up an iron and steel industry based on the local coal and iron deposits. The brown coal characteristic of Nigeria appeared to be a major stumbling block until the British company, Simon-Carves, devised a method of producing metallurgical fuel on a commercial scale from it.

The Eastern Region is believed to be the most likely site for the industry since substantial quantities of the three main ingredients of steel—iron ore, coal, and limestone—exist there in close proximity. A re-rolling mill is already being built at Enugu.

Liberia Looks to Far East In Search of Lower-Cost Rice

In an effort to obtain more rice at minimum cost, the Liberian Government is taking steps to stimulate domestic production of the vital food grain and is also importing increasing quantities from sources other than the United States.

Under a new technical cooperation agreement with Nationalist China, 15 expert Chinese farmers are scheduled to arrive in Liberia in late 1961 to introduce Chinese methods of production on a new 50-acre experimental rice farm.

Meanwhile, import figures for the third quarter of 1961 indicate that only about 50 percent of the 10,188 metric tons of rice brought into the port of Monrovia during that period came from the United States—as compared with 89 percent for the year 1959. Forty-one percent of the total for the quarter came from Europe and nine percent from Burma. India is likely to become an increasingly important new source of rice for the Liberian market.

Volume of Trade Grows On Lagos Stock Exchange

Since its official opening on August 25, the Lagos Stock Exchange has registered steady improvement in its volume of trade. The volume of trade was £80,500 (about \$225,400) in August and £250,000 in September. While the figure for October is not yet available, it was reported to be sizably higher than either previous month. About 90 percent of the trans-

actions during the first three months of operations were in government securities, but equity shares are now becoming a significant item as well.

There are now about eight Nigerian firms with shares quoted on the Exchange, according to the *Financial Times*. Of these, only three—John Holt Investment, Nigerian Cement, and Nigeria Tobacco—are well-known to Nigerians, which is perhaps why their shares have been enjoying a better boom than others. As yet, no dealings in foreign shares are reported.

Air Service Established Between Ghana and Mali

A weekly air service between Bamako and Accra, via Mopti (Mali), Ouagadougou (Upper Volta), and Tamale and Kumasi (Ghana) was inaugurated on October 28. The service will be operated with a Russian-made IL-14 aircraft, manned by a Mali cabin crew and Soviet flying personnel.

Drain on South Africa's Reserves Appears to Be Checked

The precipitate drain on South Africa's foreign exchange reserves that began after the March 1960 Sharpeville shootings and worsened with the announcement of South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961 now appears checked.

Foreign reserves fell from a peak of Rand 315,000,000 (\$441,000,000 equivalent) on January 29, 1960 to a low of Rand 142,000,000 (\$198,800,000) on June 16, 1961. As of September 1, 1961 the reserves had risen to Rand 177,700,000 (\$248,800,000) and by November 10 to Rand 228,000,000 (\$319,200,000), according to Minister of Economic Affairs M. Diederichs.

The stringent import and foreign exchange controls which were imposed in June (See *Africa Report*, July 1961, page 7) are largely credited with reversing the downward trend. The position of the rand was also boosted by South Africa's July 1961 arrangement with the International Monetary Fund for a \$75,000,000 one-year standby loan. (See *Africa Report*, August 1961, page 4).

While Dr. Diederichs and other officials of the South African Government have been promising since September to ease the exchange controls as soon as the situation improved, most observers doubt that these relaxations will come soon. The effect of the recent re-election of the Nationalist Government on the confidence of the overseas investor is not yet clear. —Okon Idem

Two Universities Established in Ghana

Ghana's two new universities have been formally opened by Kojo Botsio, Vice-Chairman of the Interim Council of the University of Ghana. The universities are the University of Ghana (formerly the University College of Ghana) and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (formerly the Kumasi College of Technology).

In a message to the University of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah charged it to send forth students filled with abounding spirit of selfless devotion to the cause of Ghana and Africa so as to help promote human happiness and progress wherever they were called upon to serve.

African Studies Stressed

Nana Kobina Nketsia IV, Interim Vice-Chancellor of the University, said that it was intended that all students coming into the University would study a general course of at least three subjects during their first year. He added that all students would in future follow a course in African studies which would give them a broad basis for the understanding of African affairs and stressing the unity of the African continent in all its aspects.

Nana Nketsia said that the Uni-

versity aimed at having 2,000 students in residence in five years' time. At the beginning of the next academic year the present number of over 700 students would be increased to 1,000. From 1951, when the first degrees in the University College of the Gold Coast were awarded, 1,100 students had gained degrees or certificates. The new University has a total senior staff of 150, of whom 50 are Ghanaians.

Heads of Departments

Nana Nketsia also announced the appointment of Professor E. A. Boateng as head of the Geography Department, Professor L. E. Clarke as the new Professor and head of the Department of Mathematics, and Professor Drewnowski from Poland, as Professor and head of the Department of Economics. He said the University's Department of Agriculture has been completely reorganized and expanded. The new Faculty of Agriculture would have departments of crop husbandry, animal husbandry, and agricultural economy and farm management.

It was planned to set up an Institute of Nutrition and Food Science and a Department and Institute of Oceanography and Fisheries. The old

Department of Divinity, he stated, had been abolished and replaced by a Department of the Study of Religions. Nana Nketsia said that the changes had been made to make the University of greater service to the country and to Africa, and to give a clearer expression to the African personality.

Mr. Botsio said that Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, though very simple in form, had great significance for a young virile country embarked on gigantic development programs. He assured the students that there would be no lowering of standards.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University, R. P. Baffour, also spoke at the ceremony.

NOTE

In the list of credits for the special Country-by-country Guide to Africa in the November issue of *Africa Report*, we inadvertently omitted the name of Dr. Anthony Reynier of Howard University, whose assistance on matters of geography was most valuable.

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Kenya Party Differences Studied by Maudling

The new British colonial secretary, Reginald Maudling, flew to Kenya on November 23 to study the country's problems at close range and attempt to get the two rival African political parties, the Kenya African National Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union, at least to set out their areas of agreement in preparation for a constitutional conference scheduled to begin in London on February 14.

Despite the bitter differences which have arisen between the two parties on the political shape of an independent Kenya (see *Africa Report*, November 1961, pages 11-12), step-by-step progress toward full independence by the end of 1962 appears to remain a British policy objective. Asked by a reporter for his views on the demand of both KANU and KADU for independence by February, Mr. Maudling replied: "I should have thought, to put it mildly, that it would be an extremely tight schedule."

After Mr. Maudling's visit, an impartial constitutional expert will undertake to survey the Kenya situation and advise the two African parties on their constitutional proposals, in preparation for the round-table conference in London. Sir Ralph Hone has been named by the Colonial Office to this post. Assuming that agreement can be reached in the London meeting on a constitutional framework, Kenya would then make the transition to internal self-government, a temporary state lasting some six to nine months. During this stage, general elections would be held to select the government that would take Kenya into independence; July or August reportedly is the date British planners have in mind for this election. There is some speculation that Kenya and Uganda might both become independent in October 1962, but this is far from certain.

Meanwhile, worried leaders of Kenya's European minority are pressing Colonial Secretary Maudling for constitutional safeguards for their future. On November 25, Kenya's three major organizations of white opinion — the Kenya Coalition Party, the Convention of Associations, and the National Farmers' Union—jointly presented the visiting secretary with a memorandum outlining assurances they seek from the British Government. In a press interview in Nairobi on November 29, Mr. Maudling rejected a suggestion that the British Government has a legal obligation to underwrite the settlers, but said there was a moral obligation to get a constitutional safeguarding the proper interests of all races.

KANU President Jomo Kenyatta,

who made short visits to London and Ethiopia during the first two weeks of November, also took up the issue of minority rights before a multiracial audience on November 22. Addressing a luncheon meeting of the United Kenya Club, he observed that settlers would have to "adapt yourselves to changing conditions . . . to respect Africans and to feel that you can work with Africans on an equal basis." "The African government is not going to be a gangster government," he said, and "all citizens of Kenya will be treated equally" if KANU comes to power. Although sentiment against Mr. Kenyatta remains strong in the settler community, his unprecedented visit to the United Kenya Club passed without incident and his remarks were, according to the press, "warmly received."

Dr. Azikiwe Proposes Change to Republic

Governor-General Nnamdi Azikiwe urged this month that Nigeria take steps to change its status from a dominion to a republic within the Commonwealth. Speaking at a special convocation of the University of Nigeria in Nsukka on November 10, Dr. Azikiwe proposed that his own post of Governor-General be replaced by that of a President elected by both houses of Parliament; however, governing authority would remain in the hands of a Prime Minister responsible to the House of Representatives.

He spoke on the day his party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, won its customary sweeping victory in the Eastern Region elections. Dr. Azikiwe was Prime Minister of the Eastern Region until 1959, when he was succeeded there by Dr. Michael Okpara. The NCNC, which controls 89 seats out of a total of 312 in the federal House of Representatives, has participated with the Northern People's Congress in a governing coalition since 1959.

On November 29, the federal House rejected a move by the opposition Action Group to approve in principle the nationalization of basic industries and businesses in Nigeria.

Floods Follow Drought To Plague East Africa

At least a million East Africans faced famine and epidemic disease in November when flash floods followed prolonged drought. The floods cut rail lines and main roads in Tanganyika, Kenya, Somalia, and Uganda, as torrential rains ran off parched ground, cutting off villages, destroying crops, and washing out roads and

railways. Dysentery, influenza, and rheumatic fever were spreading rapidly in the flooded area.

In Kenya about 400,000 Africans, mainly Masai and Wakamba tribesmen in the areas south and east of Nairobi, were threatened with starvation. In Tanganyika, 366,000 were on famine relief by mid-November; two-thirds of them were in the Central Province, but Northern and Tanga provinces were also hard hit.

The flooding spread to Giuba province in southern Somalia late in the month, and more than 200 persons were reported dead and 300,000 homeless as floods ravaged the country for a week. On November 21, the Somali Government issued an urgent call for aid from abroad, and Prime Minister Abdi Rashid Shermarke told a press conference that nearly all the republic's food crops had been destroyed. He said food would have to be found for about 800,000 people for eight months until the next harvest.

In Uganda, fewer people were suffering from famine, but the cotton and coffee crops were hard hit by the drought followed by harsh rains.

The United States, Britain, Italy, Sudan, and the World Health Organization were among the first to offer food and medical supplies to ease the East African emergency. US Air Force planes were being used to drop supplies in many areas.

Kabaka-Centered Party Formed in Buganda

The Kingdom of Buganda, Uganda's largest and most developed province, has officially ratified the constitutional program under which the British Protectorate will move toward full independence on October 9, 1962. Setting aside its earlier threat of secession, the Kabaka's government prepared instead to maximize its political influence in the new central government.

As one step toward this end, a new political movement was formed in Buganda on November 12 under the title Kabaka Yekka—"the Kabaka alone." If this party, which has the support of most of the Kabaka's Ministers, succeeds in its objective of uniting Bugandan political factions behind the Kabaka, the Bugandan ruler is likely to hold the balance of power between the country's two main nationalist parties, the Uganda People's Congress and the Democratic Party. Buganda has 21 out of 82 seats in the new central National Assembly.

The Kabaka signed the agreement on the new constitutional changes with Governor Sir Frederick Crawford on October 31, five days after

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the Lukiko had ratified the agreements, by 77 votes to none, with two abstentions. But the thorny question of whether Buganda's 21 deputies to the National Assembly will be directly elected or chosen by the Lukiko was again left unsettled.

Ghanaian Fair-Goers See American Exhibit

"Small industries are big business" is the theme of the first major United States exhibition in Africa, which opened in Accra, Ghana on November 24 under the sponsorship of the US Department of Commerce. Products

of more than 125 US firms are displayed in a huge dome-shaped pavilion occupying an 8.5 acre site near Accra's commercial center.

The various exhibits are geared to the objectives of Ghana's 1959-64 Five Year Plan and to the fact that Ghana, with a 37 percent increase in gross national product in the past five years, is one of the world's fastest growing nations.

Thus, the display emphasizes heavy-duty road building and agricultural equipment, low-cost building materials, and industrial machinery. Transportation exhibits include automotive repair equipment and tire retreading machines.

Ghanaian fair-goers will also see

an exhibit of the uses to which Ghana's cocoa exports are put in the US. A US Department of Agriculture exhibit demonstrates varied uses for such American farm products as wheat, soybeans, and non-edible tallow.

The theme of the display is brought home in statistics compiled by the Department of Commerce, which show that roughly 65 percent of all workers in the United States are employed by firms with less than 50 employees and that small businesses produce one-third of all manufactured goods, carry on 50 percent of all wholesale and retail trade, and account for 75 percent of the earnings of all service industries in the US.

UN Security Council Votes Force in Katanga

After two weeks of intensive diplomatic maneuvering, the United Nations Security Council on November 24 laid down a new mandate for the Congo which directs Secretary-General U Thant to "take vigorous action, including the use of force, if necessary" to end the secession of Katanga and to remove the foreign mercenaries employed by the province in a military capacity. The final vote was 9-0, with France and Britain abstaining.

Broadly speaking, these were the positions taken by the various interested parties:

- **The Afro-Asian countries** advocated all-out use of force to crush the 16-month Katanga secessionist movement. The resolution passed by the Security Council was introduced by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic.

- **The United States** supported the use of force against Katanga if U Thant's efforts at reconciliation fail, but attempted to get the UN's authority broadened to include suppression of "all armed action" against the central Congolese government, which would have covered a possible new move by Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga to set up another separatist regime in Orientale province. Both this amendment and one which would have authorized the Secretary-General to reorganize and retrain the Congolese Army "for the tasks which confront it" were vetoed by the Soviet Union. However, a third sponsored by the United States—which rejected Katanga's claim to sovereignty, gave exclusive recognition to the central government, and regretted "actions of violence against UN personnel"—was passed.

- **The United Kingdom** favors the reintegration of Katanga into the Congo Republic, but continues to insist that this must be accomplished

by peaceful methods and strongly opposes the use of force. The British delegate has indicated that his government, which is under strong internal pressures, may withdraw its financial support for the whole Congo UN operation if force is, indeed, used against Katanga.

- **France** opposed force against Katanga, but did not actively participate in the discussion. This attitude is consistent with the continuing French boycott of the UN effort in the Congo, and its refusal to contribute financially to the force.

- **The Soviet Union**, which has also refused to contribute any financial support to the UN effort in the Congo, professed strong support for the use of force against Katanga, but opposed similar treatment of other secessionist efforts as well as the US-sponsored amendment which would have authorized the United Nations to reorganize the Congo Army. Some observers believed that many Soviet tactical maneuvers were directed toward shaping the resolution in such a way that the United States would be forced to vote against it.

- **Secretary-General U Thant**, in a statement following the vote, said that he would use existing authority to "continue and even redouble" reconciliation efforts before resorting to force. He commented that it might be a "further useful step" to appoint "a special representative of high standing" to devote himself full time to the attempt to achieve a peaceful reconciliation between Katanga and the central government. In any case, the Secretary-General would carry out the UN decision to eliminate the mercenaries and gun running "with determination and vigor." He asked for more troops, especially from the African nations, to help carry out the Security Council's directive. Ghana was the first to respond.

- **Katanga president Moise Tshombe** told the people of Katanga to gird for war. Assailing the Security Council resolution, he said that he would invoke a scorched-earth policy of destruction to fight any attempt to end Katanga's self-proclaimed independence.

- **In Belgium**, Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak said on November 26 that the UN Security Council resolution calling for action against Katanga would "not help the situation." He reaffirmed Belgium's support for a united Congo, however, and again condemned the participation of Belgian mercenaries in Katanga's Army.

- **Italy's Defense Minister Giulio Andreotti**, visiting in Leopoldville, announced on November 26 that Italy's United Nations air force contingent would remain in the Congo on condition that the soldiers who massacred 13 Italian airmen on November 11 be punished and that the UN do everything possible to assure the future security of airmen in the Congo. Unofficial reports indicated that the UN force was now equipped with about 15 jet aircraft.

- **The Congo Government** of Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula on November 27 signed an agreement which gives the UN full freedom of movement throughout Congolese territory. Among other provisions, the agreement gives the military units and officials of the UN authority to operate aircraft, vessels, vehicles and equipment on Congolese roads and airfields, and to use the country's port facilities without danger of running into the kind of jurisdictional difficulties which have frequently disrupted the operation since 1960. In another development, the Congolese Parliament voted during the last week in November to resume diplomatic relations with Belgium—severed since July 1960.

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Chief Albert J. Luthuli,
—photo by Charles Bird

Luthuli Going to Oslo To Get Nobel Prize

The South African Government reluctantly decided on November 3 to permit Albert J. Luthuli, president-general of the banned African National Congress, to travel to Oslo to receive the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize. The award was announced on October 23 and was presented on December 10.

Luthuli, whose advocacy of non-violent opposition to apartheid has made him an international figure, was issued a passport good for 10 days only. The government explained that it did not wish to deny him the \$43,744 prize, but it sharply criticized the prize committee for its selection. Both the government and the Afrikaans press interpreted the award as a deliberate affront to South Africa. The English-language *Rand Daily Mail*, on the other hand, said that Luthuli had "the moral support of tens of thousands of liberal-minded white people in this country." The passport will not affect Luthuli's status in South Africa; he will return to confinement in a magisterial district around his farm at Stanger, Natal, and will remain barred from attending public meetings.

Acting to consolidate his victory in the October election, Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd announced on November 2 the appointment of two English-speaking Cabinet ministers, the first since the Nationalists came to power in 1948. Alfred E. Trollip will be Minister of Immigration and Labor, and Frank W. Waring will be Minister of Information.

Colonial Office Governs High Commission Lands

Responsibility for Britain's three High Commission territories in southern Africa—Swaziland, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland—was officially transferred from the office for Commonwealth Relations to the Colonial Office on November 30. This change has been expected since South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth earlier in 1961.

One of the first tasks for Colonial Secretary Reginald Maudling upon his return to London will be to review proposals for the constitutional advance of Swaziland recently drawn up by a constitutional committee headed by Sir Charles Arden-Clarke.

Somalis in Kenya Are Urged to Secede

Somalia's National Assembly on November 13 officially endorsed the efforts of Somalis in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya to secede. A parliamentary motion urged the Government of Somalia to assure the Kenya Somalis of "the right of self-determination" as "sanctified in the charter of the United Nations" and called on the British Government "to refrain from repeating the unjust and arbitrary actions committed in the past against the Somali people."

The dispute over the status of the 119,000 Somalis in Kenya has simmered since 1945 (see "The Other Somalias," by Al Castagno, *Africa Report*, July 1960, page 8), but has become more pressing with the union of Somalia and British Somaliland last year and the imminence of an African government in Kenya.

Addressing himself to the secessionist threats of Kenya's Somalis, Jomo Kenyatta charged in Addis Ababa on November 17 that "colonialists" were using the Somalis to foster a policy of "divide and rule." He warned against "another Tshombe in Kenya."

New Political Party Forms in Sierra Leone

A new political grouping, to be called the United People's Party, was officially founded in Freetown, Sierra Leone in early November. The party was organized by those members of the United Progressive Party who opposed the merger with the governing Sierra Leone People's Party, and of independent parliamentary progressives who broke with the United Progressive Party in December 1960.

Emperor Haile Selassie Advocates Land Reforms

In a new effort to broaden the popular base of his regime, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia acknowledged on November 2 that land reform is vital to the country's progress, and announced that he was distributing royal lands to tenants in Arussi province. The speech from the throne to parliament, marking the 31st anniversary of the Emperor's coronation, also emphasized the need for priority attention to agricultural expansion. The previous day the government announced it would establish a civil service based on open and competitive examinations.

Mauritania Becomes 103rd Member of UN

Mauritania became the United Nations' 103rd member on October 28, just 11 months after it became independent from France. The Soviet Union dropped its opposition to Mauritania's admission after Nationalist China agreed to withdraw from the Security Council deliberations on the admission of Outer Mongolia.

Although Morocco carried its claim to Mauritanian territory to the General Assembly, the final vote was 68 to 13 in favor of Mauritania's admission. Guinea, Libya, Mali and Sudan voted with Morocco in opposition, and Congo (Leopoldville), Ghana, and the Soviet Bloc nations were among the 20 abstentions.

Ethiopian University Founded in Addis Ababa

On December 18, 1961, academicians and government officials from many countries are being invited to Addis Ababa for the formal Founders' Day of the new Haile Selassie I University. This institution, which is being created by the Ethiopian Government in cooperation with the United States Administration for International Development, will incorporate the University College of Addis Ababa and several other existing institutes of higher studies in Ethiopia.

The Emperor has given a palace and extensive grounds for the project, and a number of new faculties are planned. An Institute of African Studies will be established in 1962 under the direction of Professor Donald LeVine of the University of Chicago. The acting president and permanent vice president of the new University will be Dr. Harold W. Bentley, formerly of the University of Utah.

African Ambassadors in Washington

A Directory of Chiefs of Mission and Chanceries

Cameroun: Ambassador Aime Raymond N'Thepe, 5420 Colorado Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

Central African Republic: Ambassador Michel Gallin-Douathe, 2400 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Chad: Ambassador Malick Adam Sow, 2400 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Congo (Brazzaville): Ambassador Emmanuel Damongo Dadet, 2128 Bancroft Place, NW, Washington, DC.

Congo (Leopoldville): Charge d'Affaires Gervais Bahizi, 4800 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Dahomey: Ambassador Louis Ignacio Pinto.

Ethiopia: Ambassador Berhanou Dinke, 2134 Kalorama Road, NW, Washington, DC.

Gabon: Ambassador Joseph Ngoua, 4900 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Guinea: Ambassador Dr. Seydou Conte, 2112 Leroy Place, NW, Washington, DC.

Ivory Coast: Ambassador Konan Bedie, 2424 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.

Liberia: Ambassador Edward Peale, 5201 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Libya: Ambassador Dr. Mohieddine Fekini, 2127 Bancroft Place, NW, Washington, DC.

Malagasy: Ambassador Louis Rakotomalala, 1725 I Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Mali: Ambassador Abdoulaye Maiga, 2130 R Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Mauritania: Ambassador Souleymane Ould Cheikh Sidya, 2400 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Morocco: Ambassador Dr. El-Mehdi Ben Aboud, 2144 Wyoming Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.

Niger: Ambassador Issoufou Saidou Djermakoye, 2013 Q Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Nigeria: Ambassador J. M. Udochi, 500 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, DC.

Senegal: Ambassador Ousmane Soce Diop, 2112 Wyoming Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.

Sierra Leone: Ambassador Dr. R. E. Kelfa Caulker, 519 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, DC.

Republic of South Africa: Ambassador Dr. W. C. Naude, 3101 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.

Sudan: Ambassador Dr. Osman El Hadari, 3421 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.

Togo: Ambassador Dr. Andre Akakpo, 2208 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.

Tunisia: Ambassador Habib Bourguiba, Jr., 2408 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.

United Arab Republic: Ambassador Dr. Mostafa Kamel, 2310 Decatur Place, NW, Washington, DC.

Upper Volta: Ambassador Frederic Fernand Guirma, 5315 Colorado Avenue, NW, Washington, DC.



From left to right, Ambassadors Dr. Seydou Conte of Guinea, W.M.Q. Halm of Ghana, and Abdoulaye Maiga of Mali, in Washington, DC

The Africanization of Christianity

HARVEY GLICKMAN

Book Editor

Christianity and Politics in Africa, by John V. Taylor (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957), 127 pages, 85¢.

Bantu Prophets in South Africa, by Bengt G. M. Sundkler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed. 1961), 381 pages, \$4.80.

When Reverend Taylor's little book, a guide to ministers and laymen on the spiritual and social services believers can perform in Africa, is placed alongside Dr. Sundkler's careful sociological analysis of Independent Zulu Churches in South Africa, several disquieting thoughts may occur. Reverend Taylor's warm-hearted and doctrinally-based appeal for Christians to support movements for freedom and individual dignity in Africa is welcome, but almost beside the point. European Christian churches are not a universal source of inspiration for Africans — even African Christians — because so many European Christians openly flout their own teachings. Breaking their ties with European churches, an increasing number of African separatist movements are developing a peculiarly African amalgam of belief and practice.

Christianity Too European

In this second edition of a pioneering study originally written 13 years ago, Dr. Sundkler, Director of the Sweden Institute of Missionary Research, shows that one main reason for the secession of African Christians from European mission churches is that Christianity remained too European. This is not to deny the Westernizing (and therefore change-inducing) effect of the missions. They provided opportunities for elementary education and thus indirectly helped to spread the essentially revolutionary doctrines which underlie the political institutions of Western Europe.

Although the persistence and transformation of traditional patterns of behavior remain the substantive themes of the study, it is the implications for nationalism that are so timely. In tracing the origins and development of independent church movements among the Zulu, Dr. Sundkler underlines their heavy obligation to traditional beliefs and practices in the realm of organization as well as worship. The book is crammed with first-hand observation of separatist churches in action — prayer meetings, baptisms, holiday celebrations — in itself a valuable accomplishment. But he also reveals that the Old Testament thesis of a chosen people who are oppressed but

destined to be saved has special meaning for Africa. The "colonial situation" is obviously ripe for the appearance of African Prophets and Messiahs. Dr. Sundkler describes several among the Zulu, whose careers were as colorful but not as openly revolutionary as previous, more celebrated leaders in French-speaking territories.

Separatists Syncretize Beliefs

Dr. Sundkler distinguishes between "Ethiopian" and "Zionist" forms of separatism. Ethiopian Churches — the term Ethiopia symbolizes African freedom and African Christian authority — are self-governing Bantu copies of Protestant mission churches. Zionist Churches, on the other hand, are more messianic. They are loosely grouped around the person of the Prophet and are more likely to achieve a syncretic combination of Christian rites with indigenous beliefs. Both are extremely significant, not only for the opportunity they afford for immediate release from earthly frustration, but because they permit Africans to combine yearnings for self-expression with experience in self-government (albeit in a "private" sphere).

It seems possible that these forces of nativistic reintegration will provide foci for discontent for some time to come. Bantu separatist churches, especially in the reserves in South Africa, have not balked so far at the extension of apartheid which encourages the growth of Bantustans. In a sense, apartheid is a logical conclusion of separatism. But the raw material of separatism remains explosive, particularly in its Zionist form.

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Africa—Angry Young Giant, by Smith Hempstone (New York: Praeger, 1961), 664 pages, \$7.95.

African Encounter: A Doctor in Nigeria, by Robert Collis (New York: Scribner's, 1961), 211 pages, \$4.50.

Africa and the United States, Images and Realities (Background Book, 8th National Conference, US National Commission for UNESCO, Boston, October 22-26, 1961), 212 pages, n.p.

There are almost as many approaches to sampling the varieties of African experience as there are such experiences. One can tag along with an astute newspaperman on a journey through recent political history, replete with first-hand observations and interviews. This is the opportunity in the new book by Smith Hempstone, Scripps-Howard African correspondent. Or, one can follow the



comments and musings of a physician who served as head of pediatrics in one of Africa's newest and most modern hospitals, University College Hospital in Ibadan, and so view some critical problems in one country through a narrow but unusual prism. This is the contribution of Dr. Robert Collis, a humane and dedicated man, who has devoted his life to the welfare of children. Or one can be

The Economic Development of Tanganyika, Report of a Mission Organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 548 pages, \$8.50.

This latest national-development study of IBRD at least measures up to the high standards of its predecessors. The "story" starts with an economy that is nearly half on a subsistence basis, with money incomes of Africans averaging \$17 per capita. A major part of the Mission's proposals consists of recommendations for policy and institutional improvement that would be expected to increase materially the market economy (especially in the agricultural sector) and exports. The report develops the specifics for inclusion in a series of Three Year Plans. The discussions of fiscal policy and budgeting for development are particularly good and should be useful to students of Africa and of economic development.

It is notable that the preface states that "the Mission has not discussed problems of the social services, other than education, although it has made allowance for them in its budgetary discussion." Still, the Report does not avoid discussion of cultural and other social influences on the economy, such as tribal aspects of land tenure. The final planners probably will find that substantial social services other than formal education are part of the prescription for effecting harmony between existing cultures and proposed development changes.

Noteworthy features of the Report are a glossary of African words and special meanings in English, excellent maps, and a summary of 282 specific positive and negative recommendations. Each recommendation in the summary cites the place in the body of the report where it was developed. As with other IBRD mission reports, there are annexes in which sector details are elaborated and an appendix of supplementary statistical tables. The writing style is lucid and compact, qualities which will make the volume useful for both reference and study. —Howard M. Teaf, Jr.

whisked on a flying tour through the enormous number of problems and issues connected with mutual understanding between Africa and America. Of such stuff is made the background book for the recent national conference of the US Commission for UNESCO held in Boston in October. The range of the theme, "images and realities," is reflected in the variety of topics covered by the 16 short papers—from education to race relations.

Complexities Introduced

Naturally all these approaches possess a common drawback, in that they permit little more than an introduction to the complexities of the problems involved. Although this applies obviously to the efforts by Hempstone and the UNESCO contributors, Dr. Collis' endeavors are hampered too, by a lack of acquaintance with comparative circumstances within Africa.

Mr. Hempstone is probably not as shrewd an observer as John Gunther—with whom he invites comparison by dint of the very massiveness of his efforts to report and interpret—and, in fact, his apparent attempts to imitate the Gunther style of juxtaposing incongruous materials are among the weakest parts of his book. But Hempstone got around within the countries he interprets more than Gunther did. As a result, the book conveys the smell and sound of the bush, as well as the sights of the cities and the tourist parks.

Pan-Africanism Broached

The Africa Mr. Hempstone explores is the segment between the Sahara and the former Belgian Congo—from East to West. Perhaps this is a blessing, for if the scale of treatment were extended, the book would run to 1500 pages. Nevertheless, to apply his judgments to the whole of Africa would be premature, though a survey of East, Central, and Southern Africa might confirm his general conclusions that pan-Africanism remains little more than a pious hope, that "the African Personality seems to be an African way of doing things which is invoked when Western practice and theory breaks down," and that the substance of democracy is rapidly disappearing from African political organization.

The book, of course, bears its share of superficialities and clichés. Occasionally, it strains to frolic among paradoxes. Sometimes the author relies on trite generalizations about tribal "character" and on doubtful "you are there" techniques. But Mr. Hempstone refuses to get carried away by rhetoric and therefore is able to relate political circumstances in Africa to general problems of manipulation of power anywhere. Several combinations of observations and in-

terpretation are striking, e.g., his account of the differential effects of British and French colonialism or his revelations on the younger leadership in Liberia. In all, Mr. Hempstone covers a tremendous "story" in an extremely compelling manner.

African Encounter is an off-beat item in several respects. It is unusual for problems of sanitation, nutrition, disease, etc. to be presented so readably. It is rare, too, that the sights and insights of a physician are applied to matters of general concern. Planning for welfare and health in Nigeria is an awe-inspiring task. Dr. Collis does not spare his criticism for the triplication of effort involved in federation or for the canons of bureaucratic propriety that hold many civil servants in thrall. But hope prevails, so long as Nigeria is blessed with humble and understanding friends, such as Dr. Collis.

The UNESCO volume confronts the reviewer with the intriguing problem of how to summarize a set of summaries. Perhaps all this department can do is mention some of the more challenging observations, with the hope of conveying the scope of in-

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terests. For instance, in a paper on trends in higher education, Martin Kilson observes that the trend is clearly toward enhanced governmental direction and regulation in Africa's universities. In a survey of the American contribution to social science research on Africa, Lawrance Howard criticizes the great emphasis on a few English-speaking territories. Robert Lystad accomplishes a *tour de force* in comparing African and American values. The areas of direct contrast and potential for direct opposition may surprise many people. Finally, the editor of the volume, Helen Kitchen, provides a brief set of guidelines for considering the politics of the new Africa—a model of apt and concise treatment of the themes of unity, one party rule, and socialism.

• • •

NOTES:

1. *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties*, by Ronald Segal (New York: Praeger, 1961), 475 pages, \$12.50.

The *New Face of Africa South of the Sahara*, by John Hughes (New York: Longmans Green, 1961), 296 pages, \$5.

Ronald Segal, the editor of *Africa South in Exile*, has produced a dic-

Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter. A Medical and Social Study, 1878-1924, by Michael Gelfand (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961).

From the welter of detail, much of it trivial, the reader of this volume can discover how Europeans conquered a harsh environment and learned to live in Tropical Africa. Mr. Gelfand's account of the activities of the missionaries who opened the area north of the Zambesi, the suppression of the slave trade, economic development, and the establishment of towns is useful. The author, a medical man, is at his best in describing the progress of science which made the country inhabitable for Europeans. This is a dramatic story

and he tells it well, making good use of original materials from the Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The book, however, is disappointing in some respects: Cecil Rhodes, the founder of Rhodesia is mentioned only once, Sir Harry Johnston, Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia after 1891, is almost completely ignored. More surprising in a book that encompasses "the days of the Charter," the struggle to secure a Charter from the Salisbury government is omitted, there is no information concerning the terms of the Charter which was granted in 1889, the administrative organization is not discussed, and the abrogation of the Charter in 1924 is not mentioned.

—Arthur N. Cook

tionary for political engages. As he admits, it is not "drained dry of all opinion." The data is informed by a creed: "We believe that the domination of one race over another is wrong and stupid . . ." The reader, so disarmed, probably comprehends and perhaps forgives the heavy emphasis on English-speaking Africa—indeed on English-speaking Southern Africa—the minor errors of fact, some surprising omissions, and many debatable opinions. Mr. Segal and his collaborators have performed a useful service in collecting so much so rapidly, but the result is somewhat less a political reference book than a political instrument.

If Mr. Hughes, Africa correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, had published his survey of recent events some eighteen months ago he would have found an eager audience for his achievement. His trained eye and typewriter permit brief and informative glimpses, region by region, of the most talked-about problems, but several other authors have robbed Mr. Hughes of strong impact. Mr. Hughes ranks high in his profession, so his book is among the best of the genre; and, of course, while it is late, it is still the latest.

2. *The Liquidation of the British Empire*, by C. E. Carrington (London: Harrap, 1961), 96 pages, 8s. 6d.

West Africa and the Commonwealth, by Dennis Austin (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957), 124 pages, 85¢.

The role and influence of the former colonies of ex-British Africa in the "new Commonwealth" remain something of an enigma. The process of "liquidation of empire" (as usual, the British infuse honorable intent into a phrase that was originally meant to incite contempt) supposedly transforms Britain's colonies into Britain's associates in the world arena. While Professor Carrington, the well-known Professor of Interna-

tional Commonwealth Relations at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, is not sure that self-determination is altogether a good thing, he is certain that on the whole the British have made the best of a bad situation by attempting to prepare their wards properly for their majority. His didactic little book, which was based on lectures delivered in 1959 at Arcadia University in Nova Scotia, is a sprightly defense of high-minded Imperialism, particularly in Africa, and concludes that the old ties of Commonwealth—strategy, sentiment and profit—shall and ought to prevail.

"The British Connection"

On the other hand, Mr. Austin, formerly Tutorial Advisor for Extra Mural Studies at University College of the Gold Coast, though believing that "the British connection" will remain significant for new states in Africa and Asia, admits that some of the old reasons for continuous cooperation are disappearing. Commonwealth citizenship, defense policy, and legal appeal to British tribunals were declining in importance even before the present difficulties over South Africa and the European Common Market created greater strains.

But Mr. Austin's book is not a political analysis. Rather it is meant to provide the background for understanding the constitutional and administrative evolution of the British Empire. All this is related neatly to the questions facing new West African nations today. For this, students of the emerging international relations of Africa will be grateful.

3. *Qui sont les leaders Congolais?* by Pierre Artigue (Brussels: Editions Europe-Afrique, 1961), 367 pages, n.p.

Courrier Africain; Problemes Congolais & Rwandais; Problemes Politiques Africains; Les Doussiers du

THE ECONOMY OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

A CASE STUDY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN A DUALISTIC SOCIETY

William J. Barber

By examining the interaction of the Western money economy with the indigenous economy based on traditional agriculture, the author has attempted to fill a serious gap in our knowledge. Since the functioning of the Central African economic system cannot be fully understood apart from its non-economic context, the author considers certain political and social issues that have had a forceful impact on the Federation's economic life. \$6.50

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CRISP (Brussels: Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques, 1959, —); **Etudes Congolaises** (Leopoldville: Institut Politique Congolais, 1960, —).

Ironically, the Belgians seem to be more acutely conscious of what is happening in the Congo than ever. The CRISP and IPC serials are probably the most penetrating, most detailed, and most nearly accurate sources of information on the Congo. Such assiduous and enterprising reporting is complemented by the efforts of the editor of the "Crossroads Africa" Series, which presents interpretative and reference material on recent events. M. Artigue's second edition of his directory of Congolese leaders might well serve as standard equipment for every journalist and diplomat that passes through the Congo.

BOOKS RECEIVED:

1. *Sotho Laws and Customs, A Handbook based on decided cases in Basutoland together with the Laws of Leretholi*, by Patrick Duncan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 169 pages, \$5.80. A compilation and codification.

2. *Divinity and Experience, The Religion of the Dinka*, by Godfrey Lienhardt (New York: Oxford University

Press, 1961), 319 pages, \$6.75. Anthropological study.

3. *Directory of the Republic of the Sudan, 1961-62 (4th Edition)* (London: Diplomatic Press & Publishing Co., 1961), 216 pages, 30s. Includes trade index and Who's Who in the Sudan.

4. *Serials for African Studies*, compiled by Helen Conover, Africana Section, Library of Congress (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1961), 163 pages, \$1. Bibliography of institutional serials and independent magazines, including publications not devoted exclusively to African affairs.

5. *Evolving United States Policies Toward the Emerging Nations of Asia and Africa*, by Dorothy B. Robins (Washington, DC: American Association of University Women, 1961), 40 pages 35¢. A syllabus for study with workshop suggestions.

6. *Third Annual Report of the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara, 1960* (Lagos: FAMA Secretariat, 1961), 37 pages, n.p. Report of technical assistance group, founded by Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara.

7. *International Educational, Cultural and Related Activities for Afri-*

can Countries South of the Sahara (Washington, DC: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, 1961), 321 pages, n.p. Handbook and directory of American persons and organizations active in Africa.

8. *International Bibliography of Political Science*, vol. 8 (New York: Columbia University Press, Int. Documents Service-UNESCO, 1961) 310 pages, \$5. Listing of works published in 1959; for Africa, see pages 195-198.

9. *Woody Plants of Ghana, with special reference to their uses*, by F.R. Irvine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 861 pages, \$16.80. Technical handbook.

10. *Die Accra-Konferenz, Deutscher Afrika Gesellschaft Afrika-Dokumente* (Bonn: Ludwig Rohrschied, 1958), 112 pages, n.p. Speeches and biographies of the major participants in the Conference of Independent African States, April 1958.

11. *The Symbol of Liberia, the Memoirs of C.L. Simpson* (London: Diplomatic Press and Publishing Co., 1961), 296 pages, \$4. Autobiography of a former Liberian Ambassador to the US and Great Britain.

12. *Two Directories for 1960: Ghana, Nigeria* (London: Diplomatic Press and Publishing Co., 1961) 212 pages, 30s each.

The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration, by Sir Richard F. Burton (New York: Horizon Press, 1961), 2 vols., 380 pages, \$15 the set.

In 1856 Captain Richard Burton proposed an expedition "primarily for the purpose of ascertaining the limits of the Sea of Ujiji . . . and secondarily to determine the exportable produce of the interior and the ethnography of its tribes." The Royal Geographical Society deemed the cause worthy and instructed Burton, by then renowned for his penetration of Mecca and his daring solo to hidden Harar, to travel inland to Lake Nyasa (supposedly part of the Sea of Ujiji) and thence to explore the Mountains of the Moon, where many expected the Nile source to be found.

The Lake Regions of Central Africa, the chronicle which resulted, is one of the most important accounts of African exploration. Burton and Lt. John H. Speke left Zanzibar for Ujiji early in 1857 and returned to the coast two years later. During those two years, despite almost continual ill-health, Burton discovered Lake Tanganyika and Speke became the first European to see, and to name, Lake Victoria Nyanza. Burton

writes well of the trials, the commerce, and the people of Africa's interior. Something of his attractive and colorful style is caught in a description of his initial glimpse of the Sea of Ujiji:

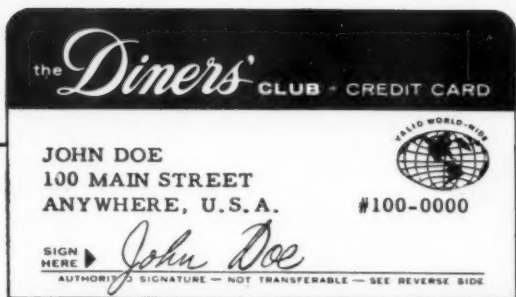
. . . the whole scene suddenly burst upon my view, filling me with admiration, wonder, and delight. . . . Nothing, in sooth, could be more picturesque than this first view of the Tanganyika Lake as it lay in the lap of the mountains, basking in the gorgeous tropical sunshine. Below and beyond a short foreground of rugged and precipitous hill-fold, down which the foot-path zigzags painfully, a narrow strip of emerald green, never sere and marvellously fertile, shelves towards a ribbon of glistening yellow sand. . . . Further in front stretch the waters, an expanse of the lightest and softest blue, in breadth varying from thirty to thirty-five miles, and sprinkled by the crisp east-wind with tiny crescents of snowy foam. . . .

As much as these volumes are a careful and colorful record of Burton's always interesting travels, they are in some ways even more valuable for insights into the man himself. Like history's out-

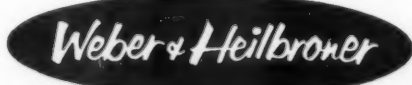
standing figures, Burton writes with passion. One cannot read *The Lake Regions* without feeling that each page is a small diamond in the mosaic that is Burton. His feud with Speke, who speculated that the White Nile emanated from Victoria Nyanza and who took advantage of Burton's illness in Aden to attract publicity in London, dominates much of his report. It remains eloquent testimony of a man who had every logical reason to believe in calculations rather than the wild, but correct, hunches of a less-cultured Anglo-Indian for whom Burton had great contempt. Burton sorely needs a serious modern biography.

The student of Africa must be grateful for this republication of the two original volumes published in 1860. It is much the most important of his two score books on Africa and it is well-served by a succinct introduction by Alan Moorehead. But if Burton is going to be republished from the original pages in an expensive edition, why not at least one good map? And if a republication, surely one copiously edited would have been of far more merit? Nor would anyone have objected to modern type faces and a revision of his original, rather haphazard index.

—Robert Rotberg



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10 NY-AR 2

African Visitors to the U. S.

JOSEPH P. MATHENGE, a member of the Kenya Legislative Council for the Kenya African National Union, in the US until mid-January on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute, 1726 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

BENEDICTO K.M. KIWANUKA, Chief Minister of Uganda, visited the US in late October on a State Department leader grant. He was accompanied by two members of the Uganda Legislative Council, EZIRONI BINTU BWAMBALE, and JINO OBONYO. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

ALIOUNE DIOP, the Director of *Presence Africaine* in Paris, was in the US during November on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

ROBERT MATTHIA, Chief of Protocol, Government of Togo, in the US until mid-January on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

THERESA OGUNBIYI, Women's Editor of the *Daily Times*, Lagos, Nigeria, in the US until mid-December on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

SIR EL KHATIM EL KHALIFA, Principal of the Khartoum Technical Institute, Sudan, in the US until

December 17 on a State Department specialist grant. Programmed by the American Council on Education.

VICTORIA MWANJISI MANDARA, Headmistress of the Mpwapwa Girls' Middle School, Mpwapwa, Tanganyika, in the US until December 17 on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the American Council on Education.

A Parliamentary Delegation from Togo, in the US until mid-December on State Department leader grants, includes: JONATHAN SAVI De TOVE, President of the Togo National Assembly and recently-appointed Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany; YOUNA MOGORE, deputy for Dapango Vice-President, of the National Assembly; EMMANUEL KOKO KPONTON, deputy in the National Assembly and mayor of Anecho; ANDRE K. SEVOR, deputy in the National Assembly from Lome, and Secretary of the Central Bureau of the majority party, *Unite Togolaise*. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

JAMES JACOB MACHOBANE, founder and director of the Machobane Mass Agricultural College and Cooperative, Basutoland, in the US until mid-December on a State Department leader grant. He is accompanied by his wife, who works with him. Programmed by the American Council on Education.

ZACHARIAS J. De BEER, member of Parliament for Maitland, Re-

public of South Africa, in the US until mid-December on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

A delegation from the Malagasy Republic to the United Nations, spending early December in the US on partial State Department leader grants, includes: ALBERT SYLLA, Minister of Foreign Affairs; ALEXIS BEAKA, deputy in the National Assembly and Mayor of Tamatave; PASCAL ANDRIANARISOA, deputy in the National Assembly from Fianarantsoa; and CYRILLE RAKOTONDRAJAONA, senator from Fianarantsoa. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

DR. CAREL De WET, member of Parliament for Vanderbijlpark, Republic of South Africa, in the US until mid-January on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

JOHN CHISATA, President of the African Mine Workers Trade Union, Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, in the US until mid-December on a State Department specialist grant. Programmed by the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor, Washington 25, DC.

ABBE ALEXIS KAGAME, Professor of Philosophy and General History, Official School Group of Astrida, Ruanda-Urundi, in the US until mid-December on a State Department leader grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

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